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"The levying of taxes is, thus, almost exclusively reserved to the House of Commons, who, *it is presumed*, will not tax themselves nor their fellow subjects, without being first convinced of the necessity of the aids which they grant. The *application* also of the public supplies, is watched with the same *circumspection* as the assessment, the expenditure of all the taxes being *accounted for* in the House of Commons.—PALEY: Book VI. Chap. VII.

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MR. PITT'S CASE.

(Continued from p. 890 and 897.)

Before we enter on the continuation of this discussion, it will be proper to take notice of what took place, relative to the subject, in the House of Commons, on Friday last, the 14th instant, which, it will be recollected, was *after* the writing of the remarks in page, 897, &c. above referred to.—Mr. Whitbread, at the close of a speech of considerable length, moved four RESOLUTIONS, as follows:—"1. That in September, 1796, Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. being then contractors for two loans in the progress of payment, did represent to the Right Honourable William Pitt and the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melville their inability to make good an instalment, falling due on the 9th day of September, 1796, on account of the general embarrassments at that time, affecting both public and private credit, and the particular line of conduct adopted at the Bank, of limiting their accommodations in the way of discount.—2. That the Right Honourable William Pitt being impressed, as stated by him, with the belief of the importance and urgent necessity, with a view to essential public interests, of granting relief to the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co. for the purposes of making good the said instalment, and no other means suggesting themselves by which much public mischief might be prevented, and having understood from the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melville, the Treasurer of the Navy, that the sum of 40,000*l.*, which, together with other sums, had been issued from the Exchequer, and placed to the credit of the said Lord Viscount Melville, at the Bank of England, as Treasurer of the Navy, for navy services, might be spared without inconvenience, provided unquestionable securities were obtained for the repayment of the same within a short period, did consent to the advance of the sum of 40,000*l.*, which had been issued for navy services as aforesaid to the said House of Boyd, Benfield, and Co.—3.

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"That it appears to this House, that sufficient securities were produced for the re-payment of the said sum of 40,000*l.*; that it was afterwards repaid by instalments, the last of which was received in January, 1798; and that no interest was paid thereon by the said Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co.—4. That no memorandum or entry of any kind of the said transaction appears to have been preserved, and that no act of indemnity for the persons concerned in such transaction has been obtained."—Upon these resolutions being severally proposed, the *previous question* was put, and carried without a division: that is to say, upon Mr. Whitbread's moving the first resolution, a member on the minister's side rose and called upon the House to decide, not whether the resolution should be *adopted* or *rejected*, but whether it should then *be put* as a question to the House. This, which is called the "*previous question*," is the mode resorted to in order to avoid the express acknowledgment of any thing which cannot be denied, or, at least, in the denial of which it is supposed a majority will not concur. Thus were these resolutions, though a mere statement of facts, and though expressed with astonishing mildness, got rid of; and, in their stead, the following resolution was adopted.—"That the measure of advancing 40,000*l.* to Messrs. Boyd and Co. upon unquestionable securities, which have been regularly discharged, was adopted for the purpose of averting consequences which might have proved highly injurious to the financial and commercial interests of the country, and, although not conformable to law, appeared, at the time, to be called for by the peculiar exigencies of public affairs."—Whereupon it was ordered, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to *indemnify* all persons concerned in advancing 40,000*l.* to Messrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Company, in 1796, out of monies issued for naval services; and that Mr. Henry Lascelles, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, and Lord Viscount Castlereagh, do prepare, and

"bring in, the same."—It was a saying of Lord Northington, that a man had "better be damned than indemnified;" and, as his Lordship, doubtless, meant *politically*, there can, I think, be little objection to the sentiment. Nevertheless, I am far from thinking that enough has been done in this case. The mere *humiliation* of Mr. Pitt is no satisfaction to me. I confidently expected to see the House of Commons place upon record some signal mark of its disapprobation of so flagrant a breach of the law, especially in a case where the *public money had been lent without interest, and that, too, to some of its own members*. I confidently expected this; but, though my expectation has been disappointed; though the result of the discussion of Friday, which has produced general surprise, has been, with me, a subject of deep regret; though I confess myself severely mortified at what has taken place, I am by no means disposed to slacken my exertions. It is not when the game is abundant and easily obtained that cheerfulness and activity are valuable in the pursuer. It is the *last* brake that hides the hare, and she needs entertain but little fear of the enemy whom disappointment renders ill-tempered, or sluggish. So, amongst politicians, it is not the yelper, whose head is constantly in air, waiting for a view or a full cry, that a corrupt minister, or system, has to dread: it is he who has fixed on his object, who goes on steadily in pursuit of it, who has chosen it as the labour of his life, and who, as far as that object is concerned, knows not the feeling of weariness, and is exempted from the influence of despair and of disgust.

In returning to the case of Mr. Pitt, the point which we have next to consider, is, whether, as is pretended, the loan to Boyd and Benfield prevented, or was intended to prevent, "*a great public mischief*."—And, first, let it be observed here, and let it be kept constantly in view, that this affair has come to light, not by way of *acknowledgement*, but by way of *detection*. Mr. Trotter, instructed, no doubt, by his principal, first made discovery in his evidence of the 14th of June, 1804. (See Parl. Debates, Vol. III. p. 1196.) Lord Melville confirmed Trotter's statement in his letter to the Commissioners, dated at Wimbledon, 30th June, 1804. The motive, by which these gentlemen were actuated in the making of this discovery, and in thus involving Mr. Pitt in a gross violation of the law,"

but, I think, it will be found, had Lord Melville known nothing about Mr. Pitt's sum of naval mo-

ney paid back by him, we should have heard not a single word upon the subject; and, Lord Melville's friends may think, perhaps, that we never should have seen such great exertions made in his behalf by Mr. Pitt and his adherents.—But, whatever may have been the motive of Lord Melville in making the discovery, and of Mr. Pitt in defending his Lordship after the discovery was made, there appears no good and honourable motive for the transaction's having been so long kept a secret. The "*accommodation*" to Boyd and Co. some people persist in calling by a very ugly name; but, if it was an accommodation, intended to prevent "*a great public mischief*," as Messrs. Pitt and Long aver; if it did, too, really prevent a great public mischief, as they insist it did, why keep the accommodation so profound a secret? Were there in the Cabinet no bosoms as worthy of confidence as those of Lord Melville, Mr. Long, and Mr. Trotter? Three men highly worthy of Mr. Pitt's confidence, I allow; but, how came they to be more worthy than the members of the King's cabinet? It has been observed before, and it can never be too often repeated, that, after there was, upon public grounds, no longer the slightest pretext for secrecy, the secret was closely kept. Public credit was restored, or, rather, it was set at defiance; gold disappeared; paper became, in fact, a legal tender; a new æra commenced as to the currency and credit of the country. Why was not the transaction made known then? The house of Boyd and Co. failed. They could be no longer affected by the discovery. Why was it not made known then? Must we not conclude; are we not compelled to conclude, that, by the parties concerned, it was regarded as a transaction that would not bear the light?—But, "*in point of fact*" (to borrow the favourite phrase of the "*Se-lac Commattée*") was this accommodation necessary to prevent a great public mischief? The Committee, who, it will be remembered, was, in part, composed of Lord Castlereagh, Sir William Scott, Lord Dunlop, Mr. Foster, Mr. Leycester, and the Master of the Rolls, say that it was necessary; but, to me, judging from the *evidence* that has been published, it clearly appears, that the "*accommodation*" was not at all necessary to any purpose of public good. The Committee, after describing the nature and extent of Boyd's concerns with the public, or rather the minister; after stating the embarrassed state of commercial credit at the time the accommodation was given; after tracing the transaction down to the time when the loan-jobbers received the public money in ex-



change for their pawns; after this the Committee say: "under these circumstances, at some time before the 9th of September, 1796, Mr. Boyd appears to have represented to Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt, the great pecuniary difficulty and embarrassment of his house; that the Bank had refused to discount their bills, and that, with ample securities in their hands, they were not enabled to raise money to pay the next instalment on the loan, which was nearly due, and requested immediate pecuniary assistance for the purpose of completing their engagements to government. —It appears to your Committee, that in addition to these engagements to government, Messrs. Boyd and Company had large payments to make on account of the Emperor of Germany; that they paid, on the 31st of October, 1796, a sum of £186,340. 13s. 1. on account of the Director of the Emperor's finances at Vienna; and that, in the whole of the same year, they remitted, on the same account, sums amounting to £4,609,506. 9s. It appears also in evidence, that it would have been difficult, and perhaps IMPOSSIBLE, for Messrs. Boyd and Company to have procured advances upon the securities in their possession (which we shall hereafter mention) or to have converted them into cash; that a payment of 15 per cent. on the loan of 18,000,000l. was due on the 9th of September; and that, had they brought to market such a proportion of their scrip as was necessary to raise the said sum of 40,000l. in order to make good their engagement, the probable consequences would have been, to increase the discount on scrip, which at that time amounted on the loan of April, from 13 to 15 per cent. to affect injuriously the credit of Boyd's house, especially if it had transpired that their necessities compelled them to make such disadvantageous sales, and must thereby have had a general tendency to augment the embarrassment of public credit. It has also been stated in evidence to your committee, that if a failure in the loans then in progress of payment, had been occasioned, either in the whole or in part, by the circumstances above stated, the deficiency could not have been supplied by a fresh loan (had it been necessary to resort to such a measure) except upon terms of very considerable loss and disadvantage to the public." —All this juggling work between ministers of state and Jews and jobbers; this prostration of law; these means of low grovelling influence, will be noticed, and will

serve to illustrate my meaning, when, in resuming my Letters to Mr. Pitt on the causes of our national decline, I shall enter fully into the effects of the paper-money system. At present we must confine ourselves to an observation or two upon the judgment given by the committee, in the above quoted passage. I have read the evidence, the whole of the evidence, with great attention, and, if the reader has done the same, I appeal to him, whether it does "appear" that Boyd and Benfield, "with ample securities in their hands, were not able to raise money to pay the next instalment on the loan." I appeal to him whether it does "appear in evidence, that it would have been difficult, and, perhaps, IMPOSSIBLE, for Messrs. Boyd and Company to have procured advances upon the securities in their possession." Mr. Goldsmid, whose biographers tell us that he was once visited by the King, during the Pitt ministry; that "respectable" Jew did, indeed, tell the Committee, that the times were such that there was no depending upon any thing very large in the way of discount. But we must do the Jew the justice to observe, that he does not appear to have seen the securities, or to have known of what sort they were; and, if the Israelite had known, that almost three-fourths of the securities consisted of bills on the Treasury and Victualling Office, with only from six weeks to two months to run, is it not likely that he would have declared, that, amongst his own tribe, discounts to a hundred times the amount might have been instantly obtained? Mr. Newland, the Cashier at the Bank of England, to whom a list of the securities was shown, tells the Committee, that he thinks them such as the bank would have discounted. Mr. Drummond, a partner in the house of Boyd and Co. has no doubt (see his evidence in the preceding sheet) that the securities might have been discounted, and that the scrip might have been sold. Some of both might have been sold he says. In his evidence on a subsequent day, he does, indeed, qualify what he before said; but, this qualification, instead of weakening, strengthens what was before stated; for, after having taken time to reflect on all the difficulties of the times referred to, he positively says, "it was, nevertheless, always possible to sell funded property, scrip, &c. at a greater or less discount." He adds, however, "that the best mercantile securities, bills of exchange of undoubted credit and solidity, and even the acceptances of government and the East-India Company, when at LONG DATES, became, in a great measure unavailable, that is to

"say, that they could not be discounted at "LEGAL interest." Now observe, all the pawns, lodged, or said to be lodged, by Boyd in the hands of Mr. Pitt and his accomplice, consisted of government or East-India securities. If, therefore, they had all been at "*long dates*," the only harm that would have arisen to Boyd, if Mr. Pitt had refused him the loan, would have been, the payment of something more than *legal interest*; but, as it has already been stated, the securities were *not* at "*long dates*," the "*accommodation*" having taken place on the 9th of September, and of the bills about 11,000*l.* out of the 40,000*l.* being payable at the Treasury or at the Victualling Office on the 28th October, the 11th and the 20th of November, next following, which, as was said before, left them only from *six weeks* to *two months* to run. Sure am I, therefore, that I may safely appeal to the reader whether it does "*appear in evidence*" that it would have been *difficult*, and, "*perhaps*, IMPOSSIBLE, for Messrs. Boyd and Company to have procured advances upon the securities in their possession;" and, I think, I may venture to encourage him to look confidently forward to the day, when this appeal will appear not to have been made in vain.—Should it, however, after all that has been said, be allowed, that the alleged necessity did exist, how does Mr. Pitt appear in his character of *financier*? In his character of "*first financier in the world*," as his servile and now ridiculous flatterers call him, and in which character both himself and his adherents seem to have quite forgotten to provide an excuse for him? We may allow, that the "*accommodation*" to Boyd and Benfield was necessary; we may allow, that, such was the state of public credit, that money was not to be obtained upon government securities having six weeks or two months to run; we may allow, that the public credit was within 40,000*l.* of annihilation, and that so pressing was the exigency, that there was not, as is alleged, time either to inquire into the state of Boyd's affairs or to consult the cabinet; we may allow, that things were actually arrived at that point, when it became a question with the minister, whether he should break through all the laws made as a check upon his conduct, whether he should withdraw money destined by act of parliament to the service of the navy and lend it, without interest, to members of that very house of parliament where the law had originated, and that, too, at a time that naval bills of exchange were daily dishonoured for want of money wherewith to

discharge them; when, in short, it became a question with him, whether he should suffer public credit to be destroyed, or destroy in effect, the constitution: it is possible to find men ready to allow all this, but, I think, that even such men would begin to doubt of the justice of the pretensions of the minister, under whose sway so lamentable and disgraceful a state of things had arisen, and who began his career with this modest prognostication. "How happy am I in having to perform a task so different from any of my predecessors! Instead of expending the money of the people, I shall have the great good fortune to *diminish their burdens*; and, I am uncommonly happy in flattering myself, that *my name will be inscribed on that firm column*, now about to be raised to *public credit, national faith, and national prosperity*."* Much did he say, on the same occasion, against the abuses in the expenditure of the public money; against fraudulent contracts, and dirty jobs; and, I dare say, those who sat lifting up their eyes in ecstasy at his wonderful wisdom and more wonderful purity, would not have hesitated a moment to condemn, as a seditious libeller, any one who should have ventured to predict, that this same minister would, in the space of ten years, reduce public credit to such a state that, in order to prevent "*a public embarrassment of a most serious and alarming nature*,"† in order to prevent the danger of *disabling the government from making another loan*,‡ he would be compelled to resort to a gross violation of the law, and even to the *lending of the public money, without interest, to members of parliament*. Aye, would they! They would have condemned such a man as a seditious libeller; and, very likely, would have sentenced his work to be burnt by the hands of the hangman!—But, if we should be willing to sacrifice the character of the financier in order to preserve that of the purist, we shall find our endeavours unavailing for, by a reference to the Parliamentary proceedings of the day, it will appear, from Mr. Pitt's own declarations, repeatedly made, that, either he intentionally misled the House of Commons, or, he regarded public credit as being *in no danger whatever*, at the very time, when, according to his present representation, it was in a state the most alarming that can well be conceived.

* On proposing the establishment of that grand source of popular delusion, commonly called the Sinking fund, on the 29th of March, 1786.—† His own words. See p. 865.—‡ Ibid.

The reader will remember, that it was nearly the middle of September, 1796, when, in order to prevent, according to Mr. Long, "a great public mischief," the "accommodation" was given to Boyd and Benfield. Mr. Pitt has, in his evidence before the Committee, described the state of public credit to be such, that, had he not lent 40,000 l. of the public money to Boyd and Benfield, "the embarrassment that it would have occasioned to the public service would have been of a most serious and alarming nature;" he has declared that it would have affected the *general credit of the country to a very great and serious extent*; and he has further declared, that if Boyd and Benfield had been unable to make good the instalments upon their share of the loan then in the course of payment, there would have been "great danger of rendering the fulfilment of any future contract to be made with other parties, in a considerable degree precarious and uncertain." Indeed, public credit is exhibited in as deplorable a light as possible. One would think, at hearing this evidence, that Mr. Pitt and his friends were speaking of occurrences during the administration of some political enemy. Such is their *present* description of the state of public credit in the middle of September 1796. The parliament (a new one) assembled on the 27th of the same month; and, on the 6th of October, the House of Commons, after a debate of some length, voted an address to the King, in which, though they spoke parenthetically of some temporary embarrassments, congratulated his majesty on the state of the *commerce, manufactures, and revenue* of the country, "as proving the *real extent and solidity of the public resources*, and as furnishing such means as might be equal to the *great and vigorous exertions* that were required." Lord Morpeth, who moved the address, said: "that, as to our *internal situation*, we had witnessed it for some time past with *joy and exultation*, and had reason to congratulate his Majesty and the people at large upon our auspicious prospects in that respect." Sir William Lowther, who seconded the address, said: "If we regard our *finances*, they are *abundant in the extreme*, and such as are adequate to any emergency of the country." Little did these two honest gentlemen dream of the works which were at that moment going on between Messrs. Pitt, Boyd, Long, and Dundas! Mr. Fox having followed Sir William Lowther, and having expressed some fears as to the state of the national resources, Mr. Pitt, in his answer, said, that

our resources "furnished, in a moment like *the present*" [the very time he was lending to Boyd and Benfield] "a subject of *peculiar congratulation and well-founded confidence*." These resources," said he, "have in them *nothing hollow or delusive*." They are the result of an accumulated capital, of gradually increasing commerce, of high and established credit. They are the fruits of fair exertion, of laudable ingenuity, of successful industry; they have been produced under a system of order and justice, while we, under many disadvantages, have been contending against a country, which exhibits, in every respect, the reverse of the picture; a *proof* that the regular operation of these principles *must triumph* over the unnatural and exhausting efforts of violence and extortion."—Oh! how fine! How great! you might have heard the "young friends" exclaiming from the benches at his back. The "regular operation" of his commercial principles did not "triumph," however; and we now know, to our cost, what it is to be left to the sway of a commercial minister.—But, let us look at the picture he here drew of the credit and resources of the country; and, let us not forget, that this picture was drawn only about twenty days after he had made the loan, or given the "accommodation," to Boyd and Benfield. How *they* must have hugged themselves! what difficulty they must have had to smother a laugh, when they heard the country gentlemen closing each period of the minister's harangue with a full chorus of, "*hear! hear!*" after the manner of the groaning responses during a methodist prayer! How Boyd and Benfield must have longed for the moment, when they could laugh out right! Many an evening must they have passed in jesting upon the credulous creatures, whose property, whose labour, and, in some cases, whose lives, they were sporting with!—Well do I remember the time when Mr. Pitt was making these declarations in Parliament. I was then in America, and the friends of England, in that country, will recollect the exultation with which I repeated his assertions, and circulated his reproof of those who dared to dispute the solidity of his system of public credit. Little did we imagine, that he was, at that very time, propping up the system by the miserable expedients which are now brought to light! Little did we imagine, that, in order to prevent a "most serious and alarming" injury to public credit, he had, but a few days before, been compelled to lend public money

to members of parliament without interest ! In short, we believed all that he said : our confidence in his statements was implicit. I dare not look at, and I blush to think of, the pages, and I might say the volumes, perhaps, that I have written in praise of his talents and his qualities, but particularly his *financial skill*, and his *purity* ! How many of my opponents have I, God forgive me, lashed like hounds for representing Messrs. Pitt and Dundas as men whose power was preserved by their giving of "accommodations" to members of parliament ! What blows did I deal the writers who had, what I regarded, the impudence to assert, that the financial fabric of England was rotten ; that bank notes would soon begin to depreciate, and would finally share the fate of the Congress paper-money ; that the loans to government were always paid in paper, and sometimes in the paper already belonging to the public ; that, while there was a grand exhibition of royal, aristocratical, and democratical power in the state, the whole machine was, in fact, moved by the minister and a little knot of low men engaged in the trade of paper-money. What blows did I deal them ! And, what, then, should I have done, if any one had dared to assert, that, at the very time, when the minister was giving, in Parliament, the heart-cheering description of his "solid system of finance," and when he and Old George Rose were clubbing their talents to treat the world with a pamphlet upon the subject ; what should I, had I had power equal to my zeal, have done to the man, who should have dared to assert, that, at that very time, this same minister was at work, with a contractor and a Jew broker, fabricating *wind bills*, wherewith to meet the demands upon the public ! The Americans know well what *wind*, or *accommodation*, paper is. They will, therefore, be at no loss to form a judgment of the financial state of a country where the government could be driven to such an expedient ; and they will agree with Mr. George Glenny, that it was very necessary to "*disguise the transaction from the eyes of the people*." That disguise, however, has now been, in part, removed ; and, though that part is small, though we have obtained, in all probability, but a mere glimpse of the transactions, yet, I trust, we shall not again easily be deluded ; but that, in patiently waiting for the day when complete justice shall be done on all the parties concerned, we shall believe nothing upon the assertion of those, by whom we have been so grossly deceived. [To be concluded in the next sheet.]

REFORM OF FINANCIAL ABUSES.

LETTER VII.

SIR,—So much of late having been said and written concerning the expenditure of public money on naval purposes, it has occurred to me, to examine what light is thrown upon this subject in that notable parliamentary publication, No. 5. of the public accounts, which professes to be an account shewing how the PUBLIC MONIES remaining in the Exchequer, together with the MONIES paid into the same in the year 1803, HAVE BEEN ACTUALLY APPLIED. The latter part of which description is actually printed in Roman capitals. As I had learnt by perusing the Tenth Report, that the officer who paid all the naval expenses, was the Treasurer of the Navy, I was novice enough in the art of accounting to expect to find in this said No. 5, at least, a statement of the sums he had received and paid. But how great was my surprise to discover, after looking over pages from top to bottom not less than a dozen times, that not one word was mentioned concerning the Treasurer of the Navy, nor any other officer in the navy department. As, however, I discovered that an appendix belonged to this preliminary statement, I immediately looked for letter F. in hopes of attaining that degree of information which is usually to be met with in an appendix. In this research my labours were more successful, as I found an account signed by W. Palmer, S. Gambier, and F. J. Hartwell, Commissioners of the Navy. But, here again I was at a loss to understand what I was reading, because the authority was unquestionable, on which I had formed the notion, that all navy payments were made by the Treasurer of the Navy. I now proceeded to read again, and weigh every word of the title of this account, and my perseverance was well rewarded, as I discovered in the very last word the source of all my difficulties. This word is the word "applied." I found I had erroneously conceived, that this account of the expenditure of money was an account of money *bonâ fide* paid. It was no such thing, the term expenditure bears no such meaning in the language of the Exchequer. For in this language, and in this account, the public money had only been "applied" for payments to be made so and so ; it was by no means intended that these naval commissioners by having signed their names to it, had rendered themselves responsible that it was so and so paid ; and, thus it comes out how easily it is for the Naval Commissioners to apply the public money correctly, whilst a Paymaster of the Navy may be discounting Exchequer bills with it. For

in this language of the Exchequer, it must be known, that the Commissioners of the Navy Office are said to apply money to certain services, when, in consequence of their memorial to the Treasury, the Treasury pay it into the Bank of England, to the account of the Treasurer of the Navy, under the head of the particular service for which he ought afterwards to pay it. Thus, for instance, if the Commissioners of the Navy Office, acquaint the Treasury, that a million of money is wanting for naval services, the million will be paid into the Bank to the credit of the Treasurer of the Navy, under the head of the particular service; and thus be APPLIED to naval services, though the payment of it for such a purpose rests with the Treasurer; and, in this manner it is, that the accommodating distinction arises between "money applied" and "money paid." That my statement is fully warranted, will appear from considering how the Commissioners of the Navy can be proper officers to account for money, the payment of which is the sole occupation of one distinct office. I am further supported in drawing the above inferences from the language made use of in these accounts; for if the money was actually paid, why should the term adopted be "actually applied." To me, Sir, it will be very satisfactory to discover, that there is no foundation for bringing a charge of so gross a deception upon the framers of the public accounts, as that of taking advantage of an official construction of one of the commonest and most intelligible words in our language, in order to conceal from the public the real uses made of their money. I shall be very happy to know that the system of stating the accounts is more perfect, than I can now believe it to be under the impressions which my endeavours to understand them have made on my mind; and, I really hope, for the credit of Parliament, that some of your correspondents will be able to prove, that the account of the public expenditure does contain an account of money *actually paid*; and not, as I apprehended it to contain, an account of money "applied," to be afterwards paid according as it may suit the convenience of a Trotter or a Jellicoe.—I am, Sir, &c.—VERAX.—June, 17, 1805.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MONITEUR.

The following Extracts from the French Official Paper, the *Moniteur*, relate to England, Russia and France, and are worthy of particular attention. Date, 1805.

May 31st. [Said to be written from St. Petersburg on the 14th of May.] All the intrigues of Woronzoff, at London, have

miscarried. The Emperor Alexander has declared that he would not depart from his system of neutrality; that he would not make common cause either with England or France, but that he would not refuse his good offices for the re-establishment of peace; that he could not, however, give his interposition, unless there was an equal moderation manifested by both parties, and a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions of superiority; in short, that the peace of the world might be re-established when the principle of the sovereignty of princes, both by sea and land, should be held sacred. It is positively stated, that, in consequence of these dispositions, the Emperor Alexander has written to the Emperor Napoleon, and that M. Novosiltzoff has set off for Milan.

June 1st.—Now that the cabinet of St. Petersburg has refused to adopt the views of the Ambassador Woronzoff, who resides at London, on the part of Russia, but who is more of an Englishman than a Russian; now that the Emperor Alexander has declared his intention to remain neutral; to take part neither with France nor England, but to interpose in their quarrel, in order, as far as possible, to promote the re-establishment of a general peace; now, in short, that he has caused application to be made for passports for one of his chamberlains, whom he is sending to France; the English government, fearing the injurious impressions which such dispositions might occasion at London, particularly at a moment when the weakness and absurdity of its war system are become palpable to all the inhabitants of Great Britain, instantly puts forward the idea of a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia. It pretends, that if the Emperor of Russia is sending an ambassador to the Emperor Napoleon, it is in order to notify an ultimatum, and to trace the circle of Popilius. Nothing can be more false.—So long as we shall have timber in our forests, so long as our population shall be renewed on the coasts, England must not compute on any dastardly concessions from us. Between her and us there can be no real and durable peace, till she abandons her impracticable plan of excluding us from the commerce of the world. Doubtless no one will accuse a nation, formed of 40 millions of men, of immoderate ambition, when it only requires to be on a footing with a nation consisting of 10 millions of men. . . . There are two ways of obtaining peace; viz. To accept merely of the Treaty of Amiens in its whole, or, whether in the affairs of the Continent, whether in those of India, whether in the right of navigation and that of

blockade, to grant indemnity and mutual restitutions, which were not spoken of in that treaty.

June 2d.—Rear-Admiral Missiessy has anchored in our ports. His squadron has not experienced any accident, and his crews are healthy and complete. It quitted Rochefort on the 11th of January, and arrived at Martinique in forty days. Near St. Lucie it chased a convoy escorted by frigates, but was forced to discontinue the chase that it might not lose the wind. They arrived before Dominica at break of day on the 22d of February. The governor sent out a pilot, so persuaded was he that a squadron in those seas could only be English.—At ten all the troops had disembarked. The enemy defending himself bravely, they made some resistance at Point St. Michael, but were put to the rout. The town was taken, and the fort capitulated. The English, by mismanagement, set the town on fire, which was entirely burnt. General Prevost retired to Fort Portsmouth, 12 leagues from Roseau. We might have considered ourselves as masters of this colony, but General Lagrange and Rear-Admiral Missiessy had already learnt that St. Domingo, attacked by the negroes, demanded prompt reinforcements. They felt that it would be impossible entirely to fulfil their mission, which was not only to augment the troops in, and completely provision Martinique and Guadaloupe, and to carry provisions and reinforcements to St. Domingo, but also to keep Dominica, leaving there a sufficient establishment for that purpose.—The squadron accordingly evacuated Dominica on the 20th of February, after having destroyed all the enemy's magazines, all the vessels which were in the port, taken 8 or 900 prisoners, 60 pieces of cannon of different calibres, and all the arms of the militia. General Lagrange released all the prisoners who were inhabitants of the country, and levied a contribution on the colony.—The squadron proceeded from thence to Guadaloupe, where they disembarked the ammunition, the arms, the provisions, and the troops destined for that colony. They then went to St. Christopher's, where, after having landed 100 men, they seized the artillery, took all the vessels, and levied a contribution. They performed the same at Nevis and Montserrat, after which they returned to Martinique, where they disembarked all that was necessary to complete the garrison in men, ammunition, arms, and provisions, and set sail on the 22d of March for St. Domingo, where they arrived on the 27th. The negroes had blockaded the town for thirty days, with 8000 men. General

Lagrange disembarked immediately troops, ammunition of every description, and all the provisions which he had been able to procure at the Windward Islands. He added even a part of his biscuit, by which, having considerably diminished his stock of provisions, he determined to return to France. At the moment when he effected his debarkation, the negroes raised the siege.—The French conducted themselves with all that propriety required by policy, and commanded by the still more important considerations of the interests of humanity. They have been far from following the example given us every year by the English, when they bombard, for pure pastime, Havre, Dieppe, Fecamp, &c. with no other end in view than to injure the peaceable inhabitants of the towns and country; odious expeditions, which are attended with no other result than to kill women and children, and which could only be planned by ministers as cowardly as they are impolitic.—The conduct of our squadrons is very different. Every thing, however, has bounds, and we think we may foretell to the English, that whenever they again bombard us in such a manner, against all the rights of war, it is extremely likely that another expedition may carry fire and bloodshed to their colonies, since they have so very often forgotten that war has its laws, in which peaceable inhabitants ought to find protection. Experience has just proved that we might have ravaged four of their colonies, and put the inhabitants to the sword; and that if we have not done so, it is because we did not wish to do so. But in princes generosity is sometimes weakness. Send expeditions against our flotilla if you like, you have to cope with armed vessels: but slay not the peaceful cultivator, the simple inhabitant of the coasts; or if you do, dread that terrible reprisals may follow one day or other. Carry on the war bravely, and as you ought to do in the nineteenth century. All mankind is interested in it; but if the war is to consist in causing unarmed individuals to shed tears, reflect that a single tear shed by a Frenchman shall be paid for dearly by an Englishman, whatever part of the world he may inhabit.—Since the English call the late operations of our squadron in the West Indies plunder, it is but just they should know that this plunder will not be over so soon as they think. We flatter ourselves even, that ere a week has passed over our heads, intelligence from every part of the world will announce to the English commerce other events of the like nature. We shall then print, perhaps, a little work composed under the eyes of Mr. Pitt, and

published by his orders, a short time before the first hostilities, in order to establish the propriety, the advantages, and the necessity of the perpetuity of the war against France. The perpetual war then appeared suitable, advantageous, and necessary to British rapacity, and to that pride which was even then misplaced, and now nothing less than ridiculous. The proud, the powerful, the circumspect English, hear the departure of the French fleet spoken of when it has taken Dominica; of the departure of the Toulon squadron, when it has passed the Streights: they will hear no more of it for some months. — Lastly, they have not heard of the second Rochefort squadron, sailed a long time since, and which the English frigates came to watch and observe not more than eight days ago. We shall say nothing concerning several large frigates which have been sent out of our ports, to which the English may attach little importance, but which will strike them a blow on those coasts they think hardly known to our seamen. They have been dreaming that there is no longer any wood in our forests and arsenals, that there exists no longer a maritime population on our coast; let them learn, however, that there are no less than 30 men of war on our stocks, all of which will be ready for sea in 18 months. Were all the squadrons which the Emperor has sent forth to perish, after having laid waste the English commerce, great fleets are preparing, and numerous young men are ready to man them. It would be easier for the King of England to be crowned King of France, in Paris itself, than to disinherit the great nation from the commerce of the world. It is not that we entertain the haughty idea of preventing England from being a great powerful nation, but we wish to share with her the commerce of India and America; and we will not suffer the English to have any possession in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar excepted. — If the English ministry propose sending forth secret expeditions to those possessions which are too weakly garrisoned, to what point will they direct their forces? To the coast of Africa, where they are null? To the Isle of Ceylon, where they will be but few in proportion to the danger? To the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, and Bengal, where they will also be insufficient? To Jamaica, where they will also be inferior to the want? To Canada, Surinam, Demarara, &c.? We do not entertain the ridiculous pretensions of conquering every where; but we wish every where to destroy our enemy, to destroy his commerce every where, to be, in short, the strongest wherever we please to present our-

selves. The insurance companies will do well to augment their rates from day to day; for until peace be signed, they will have pretty pickings. We inform them thus publicly, that there is not an important part of the vast ocean, where French ships are not cruising. But the conditions of the peace we are speaking of are simple; *the Peace of Amiens, the whole Peace of Amiens, nothing but the Peace of Amiens; France will never sign any other.*

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

JAMAICA COMPLAINTS.—*Memorial and Representation, on the Subject of American Intercourse, presented by the House of Assembly of Jamaica to the Lieutenant Governor thereof; dated at Kingston, on the 20th of April, 1805.*

To his Honour Lieutenant-General George Nugent, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief in and over this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and the territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same,

The humble Memorial of the Assembly.

May it please your Honour,

That on acknowledging the independence of the United States of North-America, his Majesty's then ministers thought it would be proper to deprive them of the benefits they had derived from their intercourse with the West-India islands whilst they composed part of the British dominions.—That the inhabitants of Jamaica have ever been anxious to promote the commercial prosperity and augment the naval strength of the empire; but, on this occasion, they represented that nature had denied to this island the means of subsisting its population whilst their industry was directed to the cultivation of those staples which alone rendered it a valuable appendage to the mother-country, and that it was destitute of many articles of the first necessity in preparing our produce for exportation. They submitted that Great-Britain, with all her remaining dependencies in North-America, could not supply the lumber required for buildings and packages in the towns and on the plantations, or the provisions absolutely necessary for the existence of the inhabitants, and that they could not be procured from the United States in sufficient abundance, unless the importation should be permitted in their own vessels.—The clearest facts, the most obvious consequences, were disregarded, chiefly through delusive misrepresentations from the settlers in the remaining British colonies in North America, who flattered themselves with acquiring immense wealth by a monopoly of

an extensive market which they knew must be scantily supplied. After some intermediate relaxation, the intercourse was at length confined to British vessels, navigated according to law. Putting the loss and destruction of property out of question, to this country the result was terrible.—It is briefly stated in a report of a committee of this house on the subject of the slave-trade, which never has been, and never can be, controverted.—‘We decline,’ say the committee, ‘to enlarge on the consequences which followed, least we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the subject will admit, the number of our slaves whose destruction may be fairly attributed to the unfortunate measure of interdicting foreign supplies, whilst the country was suffering under internal calamities, we hesitate not, after every allowance for adventitious causes, to fix the whole loss of lives at fifteen thousand. This number we firmly believe to have perished of famine, or of diseases contracted by scanty and unwholesome diet, between the latter end of 1780 and the beginning of 1787.’—Such was the waste of life at which the first experiment was made for securing to Great Britain the carrying trade between Jamaica and the United States of North America! With the clarity of christians, and loyalty which oppression could not alienate, the assembly were willing to suppose that the consequences of the measures adopted were not intended or foreseen, and they are brought forward as a defence against new calumnies, and not as a subject of recrimination, for the destruction of their property.—It is to be recollected that this trial was made not only in the time of profound peace, but commenced at the termination of the American war, when a redundancy of shipping, seamen, and capital, in the mother-country, were ready for any new or advantageous commerce; when a great addition of active and enterprising adventurers were poured into the remaining British colonies of North America, solicitous to profit by a speculation which their misrepresentations had contributed to set on foot.—Finally, however, it was admitted to be vain to contend against the decrees of Providence, which had condemned New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to perpetual sterility, and shut up all intercourse with Canada for more than half the year. When these provinces applied to the legislature of the mother-country for, and were allowed, liberty to import lumber and provisions from the United States, it was thought impossible that statesmen could listen to an application for ren-

dering the supply of half a million of British subjects subservient to their blind and indecent avarice.—Although the expectations of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, were completely defeated, it must be acknowledged that the profit of the carrying trade betwixt the United States of North America and the British West India colonies, was for a time secured to the British ship-owners. They were computed to get about 245,000 l. sterling, annually; and, perhaps, the inhabitants of this country only paid about double the freight which the articles would have cost if imported in American vessels. This, however, was during peace.—When the late war with France commenced, notwithstanding the immense superiority of Great Britain by sea, and the advantages of an established and regular intercourse, the national shipping gradually disappeared. The increasing exigencies and diminished supplies induced the Right Honourable the Earl of Balcarres to assume the responsibility of providing for the wants of the country confided to his care, by opening the ports of this island to American shipping.—By this wise and necessary measure a second famine was averted; and, during a period of great difficulty, the agricultural capital of the country has been preserved, and the planters look forward to better times to disencumber themselves from the debts affecting it.—It is our painful duty to represent that, by recurring to the system of restriction formerly tried, the same consequences must follow with inevitable certainty. The capital and labour employed in raising staples for exportation, so important to the commerce and navigation of the mother-country, must be applied to raise food for our subsistence, and, in certain situations, to procure substitutes for lumber.—Every one conversant with the state of the island must admit that obtaining them is not practicable in the best cultivated districts; but were it otherwise, the shipping of the empire would be materially diminished by attempting to engross the carrying trade between the island and America.—This intercourse is in its nature unchangeable.—On the part of the North American states our staples might be dispensed with, because they are luxuries, and can also be supplied from other parts of the world; but our demands from them are for necessities the most essential, and only become greater in proportion to our industry and the increase of our cultivation. We shall take two periods, very distant from each other, to shew their nature and extent.—The schedule No. 1. contains an account of the im,

ports from North America into the British West-India islands in 1771, 1772, and 1773. It is on the authority of Mr. Stanley, secretary to the Commissioners of the Customs, and discriminates what was supplied by the territories now forming the United States from what was furnished by the British provinces. The articles composed 1200 cargoes annually, and were estimated to be of the value of 720,000 l. sterling, or 1,008,000 l. Jamaica currency; but as many of the vessels made two and sometimes three voyages within the year, the number did not exceed 533, and the seamen employed were about 3399.—The schedule No. 2. exhibits a similar account for the years 1802, 1803, and 1804, from the returns of the naval officer, made to the House of Assembly, of the importations from the United States and the British dominions in North America, and distinguishes the proportions imported in American and in British bottoms. A valuation is added, on the authority of members of this house, of great commercial experience and respectability: it will be found 1,240,073 l. currency.—The schedule No. 3. contains an account of our exportations to North America, from the same authorities.—As might be expected, it will be found, from these authentic documents, that the increased cultivation of Jamaica calls for a supply of greater value than was required by all the British islands in the first period; and that, of this supply, less than one-twelfth part comes from his Majesty's colonies in North America; and that six-seventh parts of what we procure from the United States is imported in their own shipping. We shall admit, however, that the number of vessels mentioned by Mr. Stanley now carries the increased supply, and it will be found that 456 additional British vessels, navigated by 2862 seamen, must enter immediately into the American trade, to prevent the absolute ruin of this country.—No person in the least acquainted with commerce but must admit that twice that number will be requisite if our wants are intended to be answered by means of ships making a circuitous voyage, once a year, from Great Britain.—Situated as the mother-country is at present, we do not hesitate to affirm that neither shipping nor seamen can be spared for carrying on and protecting this commerce until the return of peace.—We have hitherto regarded matters in the most favourable view, as if we possessed the quantity of provisions usual at this season of the year, and without a prospect of interruption to the intercourse.—The facts, however, are extremely different. From a scanty harvest in America, and a great de-

mand from Spain, the importations have been less than common, whilst the expenditure has been augmented by drawing the militia from their homes, and collecting pioneers and working parties, during the present martial law.—From the best information, collected by inquiries under authority, on the proclamation of martial law, it is ascertained that there then was not flour to feed that portion of the inhabitants who depend on it for subsistence for two weeks, and we have no reason to believe that the stock is now greater. In about thirty days the expectation of all additional supply must be given up. When the imperious cravings of absolute famine may arrest attention it will be too late to administer relief. In the hurricane months few American vessels adventure in these latitudes, and the winter frosts lock up many ports of the United States from which we are supplied.—We trust that we have been fortunate enough to impress your honour with a true sense of the situation of this country, for if ever there was a case calling for the sound exercise of that discretion with which his most gracious Majesty has entrusted you, we humbly submit that case now exists here.—No means can be pointed out for carrying on an intercourse admitted to be indispensable at all times; proved to be now peculiarly so from causes which his Majesty's ministers could not foresee, but which are fully disclosed to your honour.—No benefit can accrue to Great Britain, or to the empire at large, from the calamities which will be brought upon this country.—We admit the responsibility which your honour must assume in exercising the high prerogative which our most benevolent Sovereign has delegated to you, for the purpose of protecting his faithful people from partial evils, arising out of well intended general regulations; but we humbly call your honour's attention to the higher responsibility which will attach on declining to dispense the blessings which his Majesty meant to be communicated to his loyal subjects here.—From all these considerations we rely that your honour will, without delay, give directions for continuing this most important intercourse, on its present footing, for six months after the time limited by the present order of the Privy Council, or until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

Lt. Governor's Answer.

Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—Having received no instructions from his Majesty's Secretary of State, authorising me to give directions for continuing the intercourse between Jamaica and the United States of America, after the 21st of May

next, I consider myself absolutely precluded from paying that attention to your representation, which, under other circumstances, I should sincerely wish to do upon all occasions.

PETITIONS AGAINST LORD MELVILLE.—

The following Petitions were presented to the House of Commons, on the days mentioned against them respectively, 1805. (N. B. For the former ones see p.p. 693, 778, 808.)

BERKSHIRE, 9th May.—A petition of the gentry, clergy, and freeholders, of the County of Berks, assembled at a public meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of adopting resolutions in consequence of the decision of the House on the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the petitioners have read with indignation the intimation in the votes of the House of the abuses discovered in the said Report; and they share the national exultation at the resolutions of the House of the 8th and 10th of April last; and the petitioners observe with gratitude that the House intend to prosecute further enquiry to the detection of all abuses which may exist in any other department of the state, and that they have ordered bills to be prepared for that purpose; and the petitioners entertain a confident hope, that in framing the above-named bills, the House will carefully provide that the power constituted will be equal to the professed object, both as to the authority to be conferred, and the integrity of those by whom it is to be executed; and that the House will attend particularly to obviate a repetition of the obstacles raised by persons in office to investigation; for the petitioners submit, that if any thing can be worse than a deep-rooted system of abuse and peculation in the management of the public money, it would be the institution of a system of revision, in its nature a burlesque upon investigation, and in its result a mockery of justice; and that the petitioners conceive, that the most effectual method to check abuses, will be to punish already detected delinquency; and they therefore hope the House will be deterred by no considerations from pursuing with effect what they have begun with so much honour; and that they will not relax in their efforts till they have brought all persons concerned in the misapplication of public monies to condign punishment, and given to the world a signal demonstration, that in the representatives of the people will be found, not the abettors of iniquity, but the faithful guardians

of the nation, and the zealous vindicators of the law.

SOUTHAMPTON; 27th May.—A petition of the inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Southampton was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the petitioners would feel themselves criminally indifferent were they not to express their gratitude for the votes of the House on the 8th and 10th days of April last, which declared Lord Viscount Melville guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty, votes which have diffused joy and confidence throughout every part of the United Kingdom; and that, among the various irregularities and abuses which have been detected and exposed by the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, none has created more jealousy and alarm in the breasts of the petitioners than the application of monies, appropriated by the legislature for the uses of the navy, to other purposes, a practice repugnant with danger to the constitution and to the liberty of this country; and that the detection of such malversations in one department of the state induces apprehensions that others may not be more faithfully and honestly administered; and the petitioners therefore think it their duty to implore the national representatives that their intention, already manifested, of instituting enquiries into every branch of the public expenditure may be speedily carried into effect, a measure calculated to compose the public mind, to confirm the confidence, and to secure the unanimity and energy of the people.

NORTHUMBERLAND; 27th May.—A petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the County of Northumberland, held at Morpeth on the 24th of May, 1805, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the petitioners beg leave to congratulate the House on the result of the discussions that have taken place in the House respecting the gross peculation and misapplication of the public money, in open defiance of the law, that have been detected by the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry; and they pray the House to persevere in that virtuous line of conduct, which on that important occasion diffused such general satisfaction throughout the country; and they intreat the House not only to continue their inquiries into the abuses in the department of the navy, but to extend the same into every branch of the public expenditure, and to adopt a solid and permanent system of economy, well convinced that rigid frugality alone can enable this country to support the present

enormous weight of public burthens, and sustain the awful contest in which we are engaged: and the petitioners implore the House to punish guilt, however protected or exalted, and to rescue from peculation and plunder a loyal people, who have ever willingly contributed to the real exigencies of the state, and who never complain but when their generous temper is imposed upon, and thus will the Commons of the United Kingdom confirm the confidence of the people, and instil into the hearts of all good men a warm and steady attachment to the British constitution.

CORNWALL; 5th June.—A petition of the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders, and inhabitants, of the County of Cornwall, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the abuses in the expenditure of the public money, which have been lately brought to light by the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, have filled the minds of the petitioners with alarm and indignation, and they call upon the House for the speedy remedy of such abuses, and for the exemplary punishment of the offenders; and that abuses in the expenditure of the public money) at all times matter of grievance) are peculiarly felt at this time, when so great a weight of taxation falls upon all ranks of people; and that a defence has been attempted of the guilt of the offenders, by the assertion that no actual mischief has been sustained by these gross breaches of trust and offences against law, as if the direct violation of a statute were not a high crime and misdemeanor without the aggravation, that the violation of which the petitioners complain was systematic, and committed by a confidential servant of the Crown, himself the framer of the act which he has broken, and enjoying an increased salary under that very act, in full satisfaction of all wages and fees, and other profits and emoluments theretofore enjoyed by former treasurers; and that such a defence naturally increases the fear that peculation in the expenditure of the public money is not confined to the naval department; and that the petitioners have long submitted to severe privations, in the persuasion that they were necessary to the welfare and safety of the country, and they claim, as their right, that the money which is liberally granted shall be legally applied; and that the petitioners look with a confident hope to the House, after their votes of the 8th and 10th days of April last, that, as constitutional guardians of their liberty and property, they will neither be deterred nor diverted from a full and impartial inquiry into all abuses, in whatever department they may exist; and that the inquiry now begun will

not cease, until all abuses in every public board be remedied, since so only will the minds of the petitioners be satisfied, the credit of the government be upheld, and that free constitution be preserved inviolate, which is the sacred birthright of Englishmen; and that Lord Viscount Melville, having been declared guilty of a high misdemeanour, by the vote of the House of the 8th of April, a civil action is inadequate to the end proposed, and in itself incapable of satisfying the demands of public justice.

COVENTRY; 11th June.—A petition of the principal inhabitants of the city and county of the city of Coventry, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that it appears to the petitioners, from the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, and by the votes of the House of the 8th and 10th days of April last, decisions which have excited the highest veneration and gratitude in their breasts, that there has been the most gross and scandalous misapplication of the public money in the office of Lord Viscount Melville, with his privity and connivance; and the petitioners deeming it highly essential to the detection of further mal-practices, that every department of government should undergo a strict and impartial scrutiny, and that every delinquent may be brought to exemplary punishment, humbly intreat that the powers so wisely and judiciously by the House intrusted to the said Commissioners, and by them so ably, uprightly, and indefatigably employed, may be continued, or, if thought necessary, further extended.

ESSEX; June 17th.—A petition of the noblemen, and the humble petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the County of Essex, convened by the high sheriff, at Chelmsford, the 28th day of May, 1805, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the petitioners humbly feel, that it is no less their duty than their earnest wish and desire, to offer their warmest thanks to the House for their decisions on the 8th and 10th of April last, whereby they so clearly demonstrated, and justly censured, the gross violation of law, and breach of public duty, committed by Lord Viscount Melville whilst he held the office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; and the petitioners further beg leave to express the satisfaction they feel in witnessing, by subsequent votes of the House, their determination of prosecuting inquiries into all other violations of law and abuses of public trust, which may have existed in any other de-

partment of the public expenditure; and that, in the present situation of the empire, engaged in a war of unparalleled expense and difficulty, the petitioners feel, that it is essentially necessary to insure the strictest application of the national resources to the great and important objects for which they are called forth; that they entertain the fullest persuasion, and it is their earnest wish and prayer, that the House will exercise that control over the management of the public money which in their wisdom may appear necessary; that they will persevere in those measures which they have already begun; and that they will establish a system of just and prudent economy in every branch of the public receipt and expenditure.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

KING'S MESSAGE.—It will be remembered, that Mr. Grey had given notice of a motion relative to the state of our foreign affairs, which motion was to be made on Thursday, the 20th instant. On Wednesday, for reasons that the reader will find no difficulty in discovering, a message, upon the same subject, was delivered from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament. It was as follows: "His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House, that the communications which have taken place, and are still depending, between his Majesty and some of the Powers on the Continent, have not yet been brought to such a point as to enable his Majesty to lay the result of them before the House, or to enter into any further explanation with the French government, consistently with the sentiments expressed by his Majesty at the opening of the present session: but his Majesty conceives that it may be of essential importance, that he should have it in his power to avail himself of any favourable conjuncture for giving effect to such a concert with other powers, as may afford the best means of resisting the inordinate ambition of France or may be most likely to lead to a termination of the present contest, on grounds consistent with the permanent safety and interests of his Majesty's dominions, and the security and independence of Europe. His Majesty, therefore, recommends it to the House to consider of making provision for enabling his Majesty to take such measures, and enter into such engagements as the exigencies of affairs may require."—This is very little more than word for word of what we were told last year at this time. Who ever heard before of "communications still depending?" Were there ever two

sentences, in which so little was said as in the two of which this message consists? The message does, indeed, say nothing. But, who can blame the minister? He can say nothing. He has done nothing upon the Continent; all the predictions of himself and his partisans have proved false, and all those of his opponents have proved true. These latter always said, that, in such a ministry, our friends on the Continent would see nothing to confide in, and our enemies would see nothing to fear. The people were warned not to put their trust in a ministry composed of the Pitts and Dundases, whom, they were distinctly told, would waste the means of the nation without effecting any great national purpose. Have they not done so? Has not all that was foretold of them come to pass? "What, then," say their partisans, "would you have the ministry changed. Would you have the Pitts and Dundases and Cannings and Longs and Roses and the swarm of "young friends" and underlings; would you have them turned out?" These are the questions that are asked; and the persons who ask them really seem to regard the places as freeholds appertaining to the occupiers, to eject whom from which they appear to look upon as a revolutionary act. Nor, when we come to reflect, shall we at all wonder that a notion like this is entertained; for, the Pitt and Dundas clan have held possession so long, and have so closely adhered to the maxims of the clan, that the offices have descended from father to son. In several of the offices, there is the grandfather, the father, and the son. We have kept them in till they have bred! No wonder that they cry out robbery and murder against every one who talks of a change. The Addingtons made very little alteration. Not that they and their underlings (good God! what must those have been!) had any aversion to share in the fruits of a freehold office; but, wherever they attempted to take possession they met with a resolute resistance from the clan; and the Addingtons were not in a situation to bring the thunder of the state to bear upon them. So that the clan has at this moment, a title founded on a quiet possession of more than twenty years; and, while the present system lasts, while their chief can, with impunity, lend the public money to members of parliament without interest, and without making any record of the transaction, the only danger that I can perceive them to be exposed to, is, that by some untoward accident the offices themselves may cease to exist.—"Ah! you are a party man!" is the exclamation of those who are too indo-

lent, too timid, or too base, to stir hand or tongue for the purpose of doing that which they cannot deny ought to be done. A party man! How can one avoid it, if all public men are classed in one party or another? And, seeing that all public measures are produced by public men, how can we avoid preferring one set of men to the other? That it is merely owing to the men that we have obtained, and are like to obtain, no aid upon the continent, there is no positive proof; but, at the time when the Pitts and Dundases returned to power, it was predicted (and the *reasons* on which the prediction was founded were stated), that we should obtain no such aid. The contrary was asserted by their partisans. The event has now decided the point. But, indeed, is it likely, that any power upon the continent should have confidence in men; whom they see constantly employed in expedients to preserve, not their own power, but their characters as honest men? Is it at all likely, that the Emperor of Russia, for instance, can receive from his minister here such an account of the state of affairs, such a description of the means and stability of the minister as to induce him to enter into any engagements with us, in the consequences of which engagements the reputation of himself and his empire might be involved? And, is there any one who can fail to have perceived the effect, which the recent exposures must have, and must already have had, in the opinion of foreigners, as to our national resources? The pompous descriptions given of these resources, are now *proved* to have been false; and that, too, by the declarations of the parties themselves, sometimes upon oath. Mr. Gentz, for instance, is, by this time, fully convinced, that it was a collection of falsehoods, upon which he founded his eulogium on the Pitt system of finance, and his opinion of the extent of our resources. How must Mr. Gentz have started, when he saw the “first financier in the world” in close council with the Contractor and the Jew determining upon the emission of *wind bills*! Mr. Gentz, take my word for it, will write no more books in praise of a system that requires to be propped by a “gross violation of the law;” by lending the public money to members of parliament without interest. Mr. Gentz will not be deceived by any thing that can now be said upon that subject; and, it will be something wonderful if any statesman upon the continent should again be open to such deception.—The French, in the mean time, are taking every opportunity of showing us, that *they* thoroughly understand the nature of our situation, and that they entertain for us a degree of contempt,

which they really appear to want words to express. They laugh at the negotiations of Mr. Pitt and Lord Mulgrave, and even at the warlike enterprises of those great captains, Lord Barham and his worthy compeer Lord Camden. They never spoke with so much contempt of the late cabinet; and, in truth, Mr. Addington did show himself to be an abler minister than Mr. Pitt. We have now seen them in circumstances *exactly similar*; and, in whatever department we look for a test of their abilities, we shall find the result greatly in favour of the former. In the 387 days that Mr. Pitt has been minister we have had the Parish Army Bill enacted; we have seen a Carr Project and a Catamaran Project; we have been plunged into a Spanish war, which has let loose against us a fleet of twelve sail of the line; we have seen four of our West-India Islands invaded and plundered; and we now know that the fleets of France and Spain are at sea, without knowing where they are or whither they are destined. This is pretty well for 387 days, with nothing to balance against it, unless, indeed, we were, which would be scarcely just, to ascribe the *Tenth Report* to the Pitts and Dundases. That must be acknowledged to be a great national blessing. It has given us hope of finally triumphing over corruption; an enemy that has done us ten thousand times more mischief than we ever received from the French and the Spaniards. There are, I imagine, but few persons who will insist upon ascribing the merit of the Tenth Report to Mr. Pitt, merely because the examinations were taken and the report drawn up since he returned to office; but, be that as it may I will not budge from my opinion; and, if it be just to impute the merit of the Tenth Report to him, then am I ready to confess, that, notwithstanding all the calamities and disgrace of his 387 days ministry, it is a ministry the most auspicious that the country ever knew.

THE FINANCES.—There is not room here to notice what occurred as to the several topics of the discussion on Thursday night, upon the motion of Mr. Grey; but, I cannot pass in entire silence over the statement of Mr. Pitt relative to the finances of the country.—Mr. Grey had described the annual expenditure as far surpassing the income, and had reminded the ministers of the promise made at the commencement of the war, that the annual supplies would not exceed 26,000,000*l.* In answer to which Mr. Pitt said: “Of the state of our finances, I can by no means entertain those gloomy ideas which the honourable gentleman entertains. I think, on the contrary, the prospect they afford is *highly consolatory*.”

“ As to the promise on which the honour-
 “ able gentleman has insisted, I have to say,
 “ that I was not in office at the time it was
 “ made, but I am satisfied that if *great and*
 “ *unexampled burdens had not been rendered*
 “ *necessary, the pledge would have been am-*
 “ *ply fulfilled.* Even if a sum of seven or
 “ eight millions had been sufficient, the
 “ sinking fund would have covered it with-
 “ out accumulating more debt. It is *conso-*
 “ *ling and encouraging*, that instead of ad-
 “ ding to our loans, we can *raise by the*
 “ *sinking fund, and the taxes raised within*
 “ *the year, no less a sum than twenty mil-*
 “ *lions this year.* This is a most flattering
 “ picture of the state of our resources, and
 “ the regular *payment of near eight millions*
 “ *a year by the sinking fund,* in spite of our
 “ accumulated difficulties, is the best testi-
 “ mony in favour of public credit. The be-
 “ neficial effects of this system is needless
 “ for me to insist upon, for they are felt in
 “ the general prosperity, industry and *com-*
 “ *fort of the people.*”——“ Surely,” said
 Dr. Primrose, upon hearing a bombastical
 rhapsody about the cosmogony, or creation
 of the world, “ Surely,” said he, “ I have
 “ heard those very words before, and just in
 “ the order which they have been now de-
 “ livered!” Whereupon, looking round in
 the face of the speaker, who should it be
 but Ephraim Jenkinson, who had formerly
 cheated him out of his horse Blackberry, at
 the fair, and who repeated, upon all such oc-
 casions, a set speech about cosmogony, which
 latter habit one cannot help calling to mind
 upon reading the above extract from the
 report of Mr. Pitt’s speech on Thursday
 last; for, the very words contained in that
 extract, and in very nearly the same order,
 I will pledge myself to find, inserted in the
 parliamentary debates, as delivered by the
 same person, twice, at least, in every year
 for twenty years past, excepting only the
 years 1803 and 1804. To set about seriously
 answering such a statement would be to
 admit, that there is some one who may
 have been deceived by it. And, in-
 deed, there may; but, who ever that de-
 ceived person be, he is hardly worth un-
 deceiving. There is, however, one assertion
 that I cannot help noticing, as it appears to
 have been considered as a stroke of humour.
 Mr. Grey had, as was before observed, re-
 ferred to the promise, made at the begin-
 ning of the war, that the annual supplies
 would not exceed 26,000,000*l.* to which
 Mr. Pitt answered: “ I was not in of-

“ fice, and did not attend in parliament,
 “ at the time that promise was made;
 “ but, I am *satisfied*, that if *great and un-*
 “ *exampled burdens had not been rendered*
 “ *necessary, the pledge would have been*
 “ *amply fulfilled.*” That is to say, if the
 money had not been wanted, it would not
 have been called for; which, as the pro-
 mise was, that the money *would not be want-*
 “ *ed*, was the same thing as to say, that if the
 promise had not been broken, it would have
 been kept! This, if not quite nonsense is
 certainly very near it; for, I can hardly
 suppose, that, notwithstanding what has re-
 cently come to light, he thought it necessary
 to declare, that the money had not been
 applied to other purposes than those for
 which it was raised.——Of the Sinking
 Fund, unless I had been in a mood more
 than commonly jocular, I should have taken
 no notice; but, I should hardly have refrain-
 ed from making some remark on the refe-
 rence made to the “ *comfort of the people,*”
 as a proof of the flourishing state of our re-
 sources. Upon this subject, I think I must
 have asked him, whether there being more
 than a *million of paupers* in England and
 Wales alone were a symptom of *comfort*
 amongst the people; and whether the number
 of paupers having been *nearly doubled during*
 “ *his administration,* were a mark of the saluta-
 ry effects of his system!—There is something
 in the close of this part of his speech which
 rather alarmed me. He talked about “ *re-*
 “ *solutions* soon to be brought forward by
 “ an honourable gentleman of ability and
 “ accuracy well fitted for the task;” and
 “ then, said he, “ I shall be able to shew the
 “ house, that the view I have taken of the
 “ financial state of the country is by no
 “ means delusive.” This alarmed me; be-
 cause, if there be any that can continue
 to puzzle the minds of men, and, of course,
 to prolong the delusion, and thereby to
 render it more fatal in its consequences, it
 is this annual batch of financial resolutions
 tendered by some one of the Opposition;
 in which resolutions all the *principles* of the
 minister are solemnly recognised, the point
 in dispute being confined to some trifling
 more or less in the detail, which, if the
 principles be admitted, is entirely beneath
 the notice of any one whose mind is not
 nearly upon a level with that of a Jew broker.

JAMAICA. Thus pressed for room, I can
 only request the reader to turn to page 947,
 where he will find a very important official
 paper relative to the affairs of this Island.